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AUTHOR Both, Heili; And Others
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ABSTRACT

A study visit was made to four adult education and community work projects in the London area. The agencies visited provided the opportunity to view outreach activities in a wide variety of organizational settings, varying from statutory educational work provided by local authorities under legal requirements to voluntary community work agencies dependent upon political goodwill for their financing at the local authority level. The projects represented four approaches to outreach work: access through lowering barriers to participation, advocacy on behalf of unmet needs, community outreach to the unorganized, and community action supporting semi- and organized community groups. Information from the study visit indicated that social and political considerations basic to the development of outreach included concern for a more equitable distribution of educational and welfare resources, a questioning of more traditional approaches to recruitment in adult education, and an increased concern for action research. Social educational assumptions were that outreach work is regarded as redistributive interventions guided by positive discrimination and involved consciousness raising about educational opportunities among individuals and groups. Approaches to outreach work differed in their definitions of the target groups and working methods. (YLB)

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1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY-VISIT

In recent years in the Netherlands there has been an increasing interest in the participation problem in adult education. The patterns of participation and non-participation among the adult population in the traditional forms of adult education is very similar to those established in most O.E.C.D. countries (O.E.C.D., 1979). Both in policy and practice there has been an increasing interest in non-participation, the need to break through identified barriers to participation, and attention given to clearly disadvantaged social groups who are in the need of greater priority. In 1975 an Open School experiment was established by the Government to investigate educational alternatives for adults with a limited schooling background.

Prior to this initiative a number of non-formal "out-of-school" projects for disadvantaged adults were set-up usually without official support -usually under names such as "parents a second chance", "second chance for adults", and "fresh horizons" courses. A significant development of consciousness raising activities and courses among women has also taken place in recent years. Indeed, the rapid expansion of adult education in the Netherlands has been seen as a predominantly female activity. Many such projects have developed new approaches to recruiting traditional non-users of adult education offerings. While many continue to use the more traditional recruitment devices of posters, brochures and newspaper advertisements, many projects are employing outreach type activities, although "outreach workers" as such are not appointed.

A government committee on local educational networks has given the most attention - the committee for the development of local educational networks - to the participation problem and the appropriate methods to encourage participation in adult education. This committee defines such methods as activation or mobilisation strategies geared to the known non-participants in adult education. In its definitive advisory report to the government, the committee regards the provision of appropriate activation strategies as essential to the future development of adult education in the Netherlands. In the course of its work, this committee commissioned a research study of activation strategies which was carried out by the Department of Adult Education and Extension Work of the University of Leiden. This research project (Hake and Doerbecker, 1978)

proposed - on the basis of a review of the international literature - three global activation strategies:

- the provision of information about education opportunities;
- the development of outreach work;
- the development of community education and community development projects.

During a previous study-visit to London in 1978, the department in Leiden paid special attention to outreach work in various adult education institutions (van Bovene & Hake, 1979).
Various publications about outreach work and developments in various ongoing projects has increased the interest in the Netherlands in outreach work as an activation/mobilisation strategy for specific groups among the adult population (Hake & Jehee, 1980).
Doerbecker and Hake (1978) have developed a category system which develops the theme of activity and non-activity in relation to adult education participation in relation to other forms of social participation. They distinguish five global categories:

- active loyalists;
- active radicals;
- neo-activists;
- non-activists;
- passivists.

Significantly they relate this category system to forms of encouraging participation in relevant forms of adult education. They regard the provision of improved information as relevant to active loyalists and radicals, outreach work as relevant to the neo-activists, and community education/community development as relevant to the non-active and passive. They define the neo-activists as those adults whose social situation has become problematical in terms of a uni-dimensional disadvantage e.d., the unemployed, the early retired, the semi-literate women with a limited educational background. For this category educational opportunities may be grasped as a way of solving their problem and they become active when opportunities are created for them, although they have been previously non-actives, e.d. married women who seek educational opportunities after a period of twenty years since leaving school.

It should be possible to relate such a category system to the limited research which has been done on educational consciousness (Strzelewicz et al., 1966), and in this way relate perceptions of adult learning and learning possibilities to social structural factors, in other words, learning orientations may be determined/influenced by social situational variables. The development of activating strategies such as outreach work and community education needs to take account of and utilize these differences in educational consciousness and the situational/structural influences upon it. The different forms of activating strategies can be seen, in such a perspective, as ways of changing perceptions of educational opportunities or education consciousness raising (Mesirow, 1979). Further research in the Netherlands suggests that concepts such as the "educational history" and "educational biography" of potential participants and specific target groups may be fundamental to succesful activation strategies (Hake et al., 1979; Kats, 1979; Hake and Doerbecker, 1979).

2. RESEARCH ACTIVITIES IN THE AREA OF ACTIVATION/MOBILISATION STRATEGIES

The work of Hake and Doerbecker provides the point of departure for the current research activities in the department. The research programme of the department in the area of adult education is concentrated upon a further development of research into various activation/mobilisation strategies. The research prospective is directed towards a better understanding of the relationships between educational consciousness and consciousness-raising activities in the form of social intervention strategies. This research directs its attention to problems of understanding educational consciousness, the social determinants of such consciousness, the practice theories of activation/mobilisationwork, the concrete workforms which have been developed, and the knowledge bases adopted in such work. For research purposes activation/mobilisation strategies are defined as "organised social interventions intended to support the participants and non-participants in adult education in developing their awareness of the potential of educational activities, formulating their demand for education in relation to own social situation, and making manifest their claims upon educational resources and facilities".

Activation/mobilisation strategies have been developed in divserse institutional settings, take various forms of organised social interventions, occur in widely varying social contexts, and have experienced variable success and failure rates. From the viewpoint of social welfare research activation/mobilisation strategies are based on various approaches to the assessment of needs of individuals and groups and ways of providing appropriate support to "client groups". Activation/mobilisation work is in practice informed by individual guidance and counselling, forms of case-work, group-work, community-work and community-action. Of central importance here are the complex relationships between the social situation of individuals and groups, their awareness of need and demand for educational activities on the one hand, and the activities of educational and social work agencies in need of assessment, programme development, and mobilisation activities on the other hand. Present research concentrates upon these complex relationships as they are manifested in those activation/ mobilisation strategies which are directed to non-participants in adult education at the local level of the neighbourhood.

There are currently two recognised research projects in Leiden in this area of study. The first project emphasises the more general problems involved in activation/mobilisation strategies in adult education at the neighbourhood level. The central research problem is formulated as follows: "What are the social conditions in which activation/mobilisation strategies have developed in adult education and community work; and what are the possibilities and limitations of such strategies in the specific context of adult education at the neighbourhood level". The second project is more specifically concerned with the use of audio-visual media in activation/mobilisation strategies and especially with the use of community media in adult education. The central research problem is formulated as follows: "In which ways can audio-visual media contribute to activation/ mobilisation strategies in the context of adult education at the local level; and what are the possibilities and limitations of audio-visual media in terms of their consciousness-raising potential for social groups with regard to their awareness of education in relation to their specific social situation".

This report will concentrate upon those aspects of our studytrip to London which are directly relevant to the first of these two research projects. It will concentrate upon our experiences in London, new knowledge and insight accumulated there, and the potential significance of the visit for the further development of our research. The report will be largely impressionistic and has little pretence to new or fundamental theoretical formulations. The specific output in concrete research terms will be reported separately in the course of our research activities. This will become more obvious in the next section.

3. A CASE-STUDY OF "OUTREACH WORK" IN LONDON

As was suggested above, the earlier work of Doerbecker and Hake has given rise to research interests in the specific social intervention strategies, which they designate in their discussion of global activation/ mobilisation activities such as information and counselling, outreach work and community work. Their later work, together with that of others such as Hake et al (1979) and Kats (1980) suggest the link with theoretical perspectives on educational consciousness and education ideologies as manifested in theories of practice. In the research project concerned with activation/mobilisation strategies in adult education and community work the focal point of our attention is the study of specific strategies which have been developed in neighbourhood educational work with adults.

This research project has formulated a number of more specific formulations of the general research problem:

- what are the social/educational conditions in which specific activation/ mobilisation strategies have been developed, whether in the Netherlands or elsewhere?
- what are the problem definitions and the level of problem formulations which have given rise to specific strategies at the neighbourhood level?
- what are the specific problems of activation/mobilisation strategies at the neighbourhood level?
- what are the knowledge bases and skills appropriate to organised social interventions?

These research problems will be examined in a number of ways. An important aspect of the research design is the reconstruction of a number of specific activation/mobilisation strategies by means of selected case-studies. The point at issue here is the reconstruction of organised social intervention strategies in the form of activation/mobilisation activities in specific socio-historical situations.

A study of the relevant literature in the research of Hake and Doerbecker indicated the pertinence of the "outreach work" as it has been developed in the I.L.E.A.-area during the 1970's. A previous study-visit in 1978 confirmed the significance of outreach work as a specific form of activation/mobilisation work. It was consequently decided to undertake a detailed case-study of this outreach work as a relevant object for research. We took as our point of departure the background to the development of and problems encountered in outreach work, and that the experiences with outreach work in the I.L.E.A. can inform both the theoretical study of organised social intervention strategies in adult education and the further development of activation/mobilisation work in practice. This research problem can be formulated as follows: an attempt to reconstruct outreach work as an activation strategy in adult education.

The purpose should be to transcend the practical theories of outreach work adopted and developed by outreach workers, on the one hand, and the social-political considerations adopted by policy-makers, on the other hand, in their support of outreach work.

Such a definition of the research problem suggests the following questions for research on outreach work as activation strategy:

- what were the social and political considerations behind the introduction of outreach work - the historical and ideological conditions;
- how were the objectives of outreach work defined at the outset - the social-educational arguments;
- which definitions of the target-groups were employed - individuals and groups and their characteristics;
- which were the working methods developed and employed by outreach workers in their practical work settings;

In relation to this case-study of outreach work, the study-visit to London performed a number of important functions which we briefly indicate as follows:

- to establish further contacts with practical projects in the broad area of outreach work;
- to undertake further field research in a number of institutions;
- to collect further secondary sources of information concerning outreach work;
- to explore further a number of different approaches to outreach work which have emerged in the analysis of data in earlier phases of the research;
- to establish further contacts with agencies concerned with outreach type activities.

The contacts with, and consequent visits to, specific agencies in London, were established through a contact person with whom we have been corresponding since before our visit in 1978. Being aware of our research questions she arranged a number of visits to those agencies which in the prevailing local context represent significant variations upon the theme of "outreach work". During our visit we were able to talk with workers of the following agencies:

- Bethnal Green Adult Education Institute;
- Tower Hamlets Education Advice;
- Hoxton Educational Home Visitors;
- Islington Bus Company.

These agencies provided the opportunity to view outreach activities in a wide range of organisational settings, varying from statutory educational work provided by local authorities under legal requirements, to voluntary community work agencies, dependent upon political good-will for their financing at the local authority level.

4. OUTREACH WORK IN LONDON

The historical developments giving rise to outreach work in the I.L.E.A. and its institutes for adult education have been described elsewhere (Hake and Jehee, 1980 and Newman, 1979). The most important results of

the debate about reaching those individuals and groups who are traditionally not reached by adult education has been the appointment of professional outreach workers to the staff of the various adult education institutes in the I.L.E.A.-area. The task of outreach workers has been interpreted differently in the various institutes to which they have been appointed, and have been variously seen as extending the boundaries of adult education into the community or acting beyond the responsibilities of adult education in the margins between adult education and community work (Mee, 1980) This last interpretation suggests the possible association of outreach work with working methods more usually associated with community work and community action. The legitimacy of this association between the traditional modes of operation of adult education and community work has been the object of criticism from certain elements of adult education provision (Lawson 1979).

Conversely, many outreach workers view their associations with community work and community action as a necessary development of adult education if the traditional barriers are to be lowered and more people allowed to benefit from adult education provision. For this reason alone it is sometimes difficult in practice to decide when outreach work, on the one hand, can be seen as intervention by adult education in the wider community, or - on the other hand - a community supported intervention in adult education. For the purposes of our visit we have tried to include both interpretations of outreach work among the agencies to be visited. An analysis of previously gathered information from various projects in the London area suggests that the working methods adopted correspond in general terms with basis classifications of social intervention strategies. This suggests that we may distinguish outreach strategies which provide different forms of support to individuals and groups with a view to enabling them to make claims on adult education resources. We view these four forms of outreach as follows:

- enabling people to gain access to educational resources by lowering the barriers to their participation;
- enabling people to register their claims upon educational resources through means of advocacy on their behalf;
- enabling people to participate in educational activities by relating activities to the central concerns of their lives through means of community outreach;

- enabling semi- and organised groups to develop their claims to educational resources in the context of collective community organisation.

An account of these four approaches to outreach work is presented in the following description of visits to different institutions.

4.1. Access strategies - Bethnal Green Adult Education Institute

We have described the work of Bethnal Green Adult Education Institute at length elsewhere (van Bovene and Hake, 1979, Hake and Jehee, 1980). It is one of the thirty adult education institutes financed by the Inner London Education Authority. The institute provides adult education for the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods of Hackney, Tower Hamlets and Whitechapel, which are all three areas of severe social and educational disadvantage and have large immigrant populations. The Bethnal Green A.E.I. has for fifty years represented the face of organised adult education in the area, and many changes characterise its history.

The course offerings were originally strongly characterised by recreational activities and sport facilities. More formal educational activities were added to the prospectus after the second World War in terms of providing opportunities for liberal adult education. In the late sixties and seventies increasing attention was given to the problem of adult basic education. During the seventies the Institute has given much attention to reaching those adults in the community who are not the traditional users of the adult education facilities of the Institute.

At the time of our visit in 1980 the programme of the Institute was characterised by four clusters of activities:

- the traditional "recreational" activities;
- courses geared to "liberal" adult education;
- adult basic education, especially literacy work;
- access work aimed at reducing the barriers to participation for specific groups of adults.

At the time of a previous visit to Bethnal Green A.E.I. we were given the opportunity to see in depth the work associated with "outreach" activities. The Institute was one of the first in the London area to appoint an outreach worker and develop outreach type activities into the community. The work undertaken by the outreach worker has been reported elsewhere (Hake and Jehee, 1980). The main characteristic of the out-

reach worker developed by Bethnal Green A.E.I. was the attempt to contact individuals and groups in the community and to facilitate their making use of the facilities of the Institute. In many respects this outreach work was regarded as a major innovation in adult education through its creative attempts to reach non-participants. It consists quite simply of having a detached worker in the community. This is not only a change in working methods, but has major organisational consequences. The organisational innovation associated with the appointment of an outreach worker can give rise to a precarious position for the detached worker in relation to the parent institution. The detached outreach worker can fall back on the resources of the parent institution, but is at the same time working to formulate new claims on the resources of the sponsoring institute (Mee, 1980).

Administrative routines associated with traditional course-based adult education may function as a limitation on the outreach workers' freedom of operation in the community and remain a barrier for newly recruited groups, e.g. enrolment fee reductions, modifications of enrolment procedures, and timing of meetings etc. In the case of Bethnal Green A.E.I. such problems have given rise to the idea that the aims of outreach work - reaching the non-participants - should be integrated in the work of the whole institute rather than being expressed in the form of a detached outreach worker. In such an approach we were told, "outreach is not so much regarded as a new workform but a way of thinking about adult education as a whole, and needs to inform all the educational work of the institute". There have been corresponding changes in the organisation of the institute. The position of a separate outreach worker has been abolished and a new department has been created. This so-called "access department" is seen as an attempt to integrate external and internal outreach work, and in this way to emphasise outreach in the institute's work as a whole and thereby to extend its influence.

The question arises about the degree to which such changes of organisational structure represent a change of policy based on new insights in the nature of the problem. The head of the department told us "during the period in which we were developing external outreach as a new me-

thod, we laid a great deal of emphasis upon outreach as a consciousness-raising activity. Alongside we had arts and crafts and dressmaking but we regarded them as less important. That kind of work had grown historically and deserved attention, but we had a somewhat one-sides view of outreach. That one-sidedness rested upon the view of external outreach as a consciousness-raising process in relation to the problem situations of individuals. Gradually we realised that there are other aspects to the problem, especially when we found participants in literacywork moving over to pottery classes, etc. We became aware that educational activities are not simply divided into different categories for different groups".

The emphasis in outreach work has obviously received a new dimension when the idea of internal outreach is associated with an access policy. The change resides in the view that participation in adult basic education can become a process during which the participants become aware of other educational activities in the institute and can develop more insight in their own educational needs. Improving access possibilities to adult basic education is seen as opening up the possibilities for internal outreach towards other educational activities. The transfer from recreational to educational activities is also seen as a form of internal outreach. The lack of experience with adult education is seen as a major barrier in itself to participation and a restricted view of what adult education can offer. Participation in adult basic education is seen as a possibility for the inexperienced participant to broaden their horizons and consider more alternatives. The original interest in adult education can through participation be explored and through association with other possibilities lead to other interests.

4.2. Advocacy work - Tower Hamlets Educational Advice

There has been an increasing interest in recent years on advisory and counselling activities for adults in relation to adult education opportunities. In the area served by Bethnal Green A.E.I. a number of statutory and voluntary agencies have recognised the need for an advisory and counselling service for adults. Together they have given rise to the Tower Hamlets Education Advice (T.H.E.A.) as a neighbourhood educational advisory centre which is independent of the various educational in-

stitutions in its advisory work. Its basic purpose is to improve the access of adults in the community to the various educational facilities available.

In its development T.H.E.A. has gone through a number of phases. To start with the emphasis was placed upon an information bank with basic information such as names and addresses of institutes and the courses on offer. In the following phase volunteer counsellors were involved with a view to helping potential consumers of adult education to explore their need for education in relation to the available courses and activities. More recently a full-time worker has been appointed. We spoke to Kevin Burton about his work with T.H.E.A. and some of the problems involved in advisory and counselling work.

Central to the work of T.H.E.A. is that it works independently of the educational institutions in the neighbourhood and stresses the interest of individuals seeking educational help. Kevin Burton places great stress on the key position of advisory and counselling work in the total provision of opportunities for adult education. The work of T.H.E.A. is clearly seen as a form of inter-agency work in the interests of potential participants in adult education. The advisory and counselling is not restricted to matching demand and supply in terms of individual cases. This is most clearly expressed in the use of the term advocacy on behalf of clients. Advocacy work departs from the assumption that demand and supply in adult education are usually a mismatch with serious inbalances in the nature of provision.

The supply of adult education has developed historically and assumed specific patterns of provision in relation to known groups of traditional participants. Increasingly educational demand is emerging among individuals and groups who are not the traditional consumers of adult education. Their needs are often inadequately articulated, often unrealistic, and quite frequently not matched by an appropriate form of supply. Especially for adults with limited or no experience of adult education, counselling can perform an important task in the clarification of educational aspirations and needs. Enabling by means of counselling can involve helping adults gain some experience in educational activities before committing themselves to long term educational courses and the unknown demands of educational institutions.

This also involves helping potential participants to design realistic educational routes, while allowing them to formulate their own educational demand rather than fitting their needs into the available slots in the chain of provision. At this point in the counselling process the advocacy function comes into itw own. Various formulations of demand will not be met by the available supply and advocacy on behalf of the potential participants will be needed. The counsellor is not merely a guide through the complexities of the existing educational system, but also an advocate on behalf of newly formulated claims upon resources. The advocacy function involves bargaining with various institutions in order to create an appropriate form of provision. This can mean arranging for the lowering of barriers to participation, bargaining for more flexible admission crtieria, or indeed the provision of new courses. In certain respects the advocacy function arising from counselling activities shares many of the same characteristcis as external outreach work. Indeed in the case of T.H.E.A. Kevin Burton consciously stresses the close relationships between advocacy work and external outreach work in the practice of his inter-agency bargaining on behalf of client groups. Advocacy and external outreach differ in their institutional setting and their relationships to educational resources, but the working principles have a great deal in common. Kevin Burton holds the view that "the main point in both advocacy work and outreach work is supporting the process of increasing educational awareness, assisting the formulation of educational demand, linking demand with supply, and where necessary advocating modifications in educational provision. The responsibility of the worker is to ensure that emerging educational awareness can be accommodated and not disappointed".

4.3. Community outreach - Hoxton Educational Home Visitors

Access and advocacy in outreach work can be regarded as strategies developed by educational and para-educational institutions directed towards those individuals who are more or less conscious of a need for adult education. As suggested above in the case of T.H.E.A. self-referral by individuals to a counselling agency indicates the presence of at least a minimal educational consciousness i.e. that participation in adult education may represent a potential solution to an individual's problem. During the 1970's, however, there has been an increasing em-

phasis in outreach work on reaching unorganised and semi-organised individuals and groups in the community where there is in principle no indication of educational awareness in relation to apparent problems. This work was developed by, among others, Lovett (1975) in his work with adults in the Liverpool Educational Priority Area. Other E.P.A. projects laid more stress than Lovett on outreach work towards the parents of educationally deprived children. More recently Lovett and Makay (1979) have emphasised outreach work towards women and their social "responsibilities" as mothers. Outreach work in many adult educational institutes in the London area have developed similar ways of outreaching to the unorganised and semi-organised adults. Hake and Jones (1980) have described various examples of this work which can be regarded as "community outreach".

During our visit to Tower Hamlets we were able to talk to Jenny Scribbens, who works for a group known as Hoxton Educational Home Visitors. This group seeks to approach working-class mothers with young children through offering them support in the selection and use of toys and games. Although toy libraries have developed extensively significant groups of working-class women do not use them. They are often in great stress-situations in caring for their younger children all day in restricted living conditions. Jenny Scribbens bases her work on the experience built up in the Educational Priority Area projects in providing support for mothers of young children in the perspective of compensatory programmes. The Hoxton Educational Home Visitors have added a new dimension to such established work. The compensatory objective based on the educational needs of children is now balanced by a concern for the potential educational needs of the mothers themselves.

The approach to the mothers is indirect and long-term. Jenny starts her home visiting with the offer of playing with children. For many harrassed mothers this is a welcome offer. The temporary sense of release gradually turns to interest in how her children can play and be kept active with a range of simple and inexpensive toys and books. An emphasis in earlier projects on play being important for later education has been replaced by helping mothers see that play is something mothers and children can do and enjoy together. The compensatory objective is of

little interest to them although they are often aware of its importance. Building up their own self-confidence and developing new skills in dealing with their own children is of greater importance and direct relevance to them. Jenny finds that increased self-confidence helps the women to break out of the isolation of their house - and child-bound social situation.

As the home-visiting develops over a period of months the individual mothers begin to show an interest in talking to other mothers about their common problems and the solutions which each has developed. Jenny sees here a development away from dependence upon herself as home-visitor and a move towards mutual support and self-help. Discussion groups in the direct neighbourhood usually emerge at this point in the process, and where necessary other agencies can provide more appropriate support where the groups want this. During such activities increasing self-confidence can lead to an emerging educational awareness in the broadest sense of the term. Concern with playing with the children can turn to increasing interest in their more general situation in the community and family as wives and mothers. Various women's organisations can provide an appropriate further line of development for these women who were originally unorganised and isolated at home.

4.4. Community Organisation - Islington Bus Company

While community outreach has directed its attention to unorganised and sometimes semi-organised individuals, community organisation is traditionally concerned with semi- and organised groups. The point of organisation is usually based upon some short-term issue or recurring problem at neighbourhood level.

Neighbourhood organisations are frequently concerned with matters such as housing and rent, playspace for children, redevelopment and renovation schemes. Community organisation is not seen as an end itself, but as a means to solving the identified issues and problems in a community by collective action. Under the influence of Alinsky's work in America and similar developments in Britain, community organisation has become a recognised strategy of associated interventions. Insofar as community organisation supports the creation and development of new organisations, it can be seen as a form of outreach supporting the development of semi-organised and organised collectivities in the community.

An interesting example of work in this sphere is the Islington Bus Company which we visited during our trip to London. The Islington Bus Company is a voluntary organisation which has developed a wide range of support services for community organisations in the Islington area of London. Established in 1971, the I.B.C. derives its name from the use of an old London double-decker bus as a focal point for outreach activities in the various neighbourhoods comprising Islington. The bus has been variously used as meeting place for groups, information point for community groups, exhibition room, base for campaigns, a means of transport to demonstrations, a home base for holiday play activities for children, etc.

The bus further provides printing facilities for the use of groups and video equipment is also available. The Islington Bus Co. now rents a permanent accommodation in the neighbourhood, and the bus itself now functions as a means of transport for group activities and as a focal point for making the Islington Bus Co. and its services known in the community.

These supporting services for community groups comprise the following components:

- the bus itself as resource for groups in the course of their campaigns and activities;
- an information/coffee shop in the main building which provides a shop-front invitation to individuals to drop in, and a contact point with groups seeking assistance;
- the loaning to groups of various materials ranging from video equipment to tools for handicrafts;
- facilities to be used in the building, such as a silkscreen printing shop, photography dark-room, a radio-studio, and meeting rooms;
- organising workshops and courses in such things as the use of video, photography and printing in community group activities.

During the working life of the Islington Bus Co. the emphasis in its work has gradually changed from stimulating the formation of community groups to a more service-orientated support function to already established groups. There are many such groups in the Islington area, and the demand on the Bus Co. for the use of its facilities is more than adequate. Indeed there is a greater demand than can be met at any one

time, and difficult choices have to be made about which groups to support. The main criterion employed here is that of supporting those community groups which have a good chance of being able to work independently and are capable of self-organisation.

The workers associated with the Bus Co. determine which groups to support and there is no community participation in the decision-making of the organisation. Decisions are made by the workers acting as a workers collective and without hierarchical relations among the staff. Awareness of the views of community groups and their needs is regarded as basic to the nature of the work and cannot be reduced to an organisational solution in the form of participation in the decision-making. The use of the facilities by groups varies considerably from time to time, and it would be difficult to decide who should participate in a representative body. Furthermore, the dominance of long-standing groups in such a body could mean that their interests could dominate over those of newly formed groups. The workers prefer to guarantee their responsiveness to changing needs through developing a wide range of contacts and having deep roots in the neighbourhood. A recent example of such a response to emerging interests is the setting-up of the radio-studio which caters especially for groups of youngsters and helps them make their own radio programmes. The way of financing activities also permits a wide degree of responsiveness. As a voluntary organisation the Islington Bus Company receives a discretionary grant from the local authorities. The hire of equipment and materials is largely self-financing, as are the workshops and courses.

Special projects, such as the radio-studio, are financed separately by foundations and local firms. This requires no approval from a public authority and such projects can be set up independently, providing of course that finance can be found. A degree of insight and fund-raising capacities are an inherent part of the necessary skills for those who work at the Islington Bus Company.

5. SOME ISSUES IN APPROACHES TO OUTREACH WORK

The introduction to this report indicated our research interest in outreach work as a social intervention strategy for activating the parti-

cipation of individuals and groups in adult education. The four cases described in the previous section can be regarded as different perspectives on providing support for individuals and groups in the process of making claims on educational resources. The cases were seen as representative of the following perspectives:

- access through lowering barriers to participation;
- advocacy on behalf of unmet needs;
- community outreach to the unorganised;
- community action supporting semi- and organised community groups.

These different perspectives on outreach work have developed in varied institutional contexts associated with formalised adult education and community work. Although outreach work in the I.L.E.A. area has been developed in the course of a more active community involvement by adult education institutes, it has become increasingly apparent that outreach work has borrowed a great deal from other forms of community-based social intervention strategies. Outreach work in adult education and community work share many of the same sources of inspiration in the principles of detached community work, community work with groups, community organisation and community action. This makes it necessary to examine the degrees to which outreach work varies and the factors which influence different approaches. Only by examing a broad range of outreach activities can we gain insight in the development of different approaches and the assumptions behind them.

In terms of the pertinence of the theoretical and practical debate to our interest in outreach work - the reconstruction of outreach work as a social intervention strategy - our original questions concerning outreach work seen all the more relevant. These were as follows:

- what were the social and political considerations basic to the development of outreach?
- what were the social-educational assumptions adopted in the development of outreach?
- which definitions of the problem situation of the target-groups were formulated?
- which working methods were developed in the course of performing outreach work?

5.1. Social and political considerations

The different perspectives on outreach work share in common the social and political factors which have influenced thinking about adult education and community work in the United Kingdom during the 1970's. The ideological context of policy development in general took on a very specific form which influenced policy in the I.L.E.A. local authority area. The seventies witnessed the culmination of a continuing discussion about the imbalance in the representation of the social classes in adult education. A major report was published by the National Institute of Adult Education in 1970 in which the chronic discrepancies in participation were demonstrated (N.I.A.E., 1970). A research study by the I.L.E.A. itself illustrated that the situation was no different in its own area, although the authority has for many decades provided one of the most extensive adult education services in the United Kingdom.
The number of participants in adult education in the authority's area had doubled between 1950 and 1970, but imbalance in the participation of various socio-economic groups had changed little. A major government report was published in 1973 by the Russell Committee (H.M.S.O. 1973). This report led great stress on the need to develop new approaches in adult education in order to reach the non-participating groups. Its suggestions involved proposals directed to structures, financing and administration, and to a lesser degree to changes in working methods and content in adult education. In the I.L.E.A. area an internal advisory committee suggested that new working methods were necessary in reaching the working class. This led directly in 1973 to the appointment of the first outreach workers, being appointed to the authorities' adult education institutes such as Bethnal Green.

During the same period there was a rapid growth of interest in community organisation and community development. Analyses of the failures of the educational system and welfare services gave rise to various initiatives, intended to make educational and welfare resources more accessible to the non-participants and non-users. The Educational Priority Area - projects and the Community Development Projects are important examples of central government initiatives in these areas of public policy.
The political debate in this period centred upon criticism of universal and non-selective provision of education and welfare provision and the

increasing influence of the idea of positive discrimination in favour of the educationally and socially disadvantaged. Alongside government initiatives there was an increasing range of initiatives in non-statutory and voluntary agency community and social work. Private foundations, such as the van Leer/Gulbenkian foundations financed a growing number of projects and activities in the area of community work and community organisation. The Gulbenkian Foundation in particular has been widely seen as the motor behind thinking about community work. Furthermore, the seventies have seen a rapid development of self-organisation and community activism among various social groups e.g. tenants organisations, client groups, consumer groups, etc. The professional and academic publications during the period illustrate the renewed interest in the community as an organisational focal point for adult education and social work. The so-called "radicalisation of social work" with an increasing emphasis on political and social activism, has given rise to a vigorous debate about the different legitimation principles for social intervention strategies (Halmos, 1979).

In this situation the development of outreach work in its various forms is in the first place understandable as a consequence of the concern at the policy level for a more equitable distribution of educational and welfare resources. Secondly, the resurgence of the community concept and increasing organisational development at the neighbourhood level has produced an increased questioning of more traditional approaches to recruitment in adult education which has coincided with a vigorous debate about legitimate practice in social and community work itself. Thirdly, there has been a reassessment of appropriate social science research methods during the seventies with an increasing concern for action research and a questioning of the kowledge base of social interventions seeking social change.

This debate about policy, practice and research continues, and has indeed become more vigorous in more recent years. The deepening economic crisis in the United Kingdom - mass unemployment - and the liberal market economic policy of the present government have given rise to a series of massive cuts in public expenditure and especially in educatio-

nal and welfare services. Adult education and community work have been drastically cut by the local authorities who carry responsibilities for these services. Some authorities have simply stopped providing adult education services, while others have increased fees by up to 300%. The I.L.E.A. itself was almost abolished by the central government. A public campaign to save the I.L.E.A. - it is controlled by the Labour Party and refused to cut its budget - was successful, and it is now busy finding ways of preserving its adult education service. Community work is in most areas faring no better than adult education. New forms of work, such as outreach work, and experimental projects find themselves in a precarious position and tend to receive low priority in comparison to established work. Given the high level of unemployment priorities are tending to favour central government funds being allocated to employment related training programmes rather than community based educational programmes - the latter bring economic costs but few measurable "social returns" at least not in the short-term. It remains to be seen, how the different approaches to outreach work will succeed in adjusting their activities to take account of economic realities in terms of their different ideological inspirations.

5.2. Social and educational assumptions of outreach work

A number of social and political legitimations are shared in common by the forms of outreach work which we were able to observe during our visit to London. In terms of other social and political legitimations the various forms of outreach differ,

In a social policy context outreach work is regarded by almost all institutions in terms of redistributive interventions guided by positive discrimination. The social objectives of such interventions are seen as the redistribution of educational and community resources to those individuals and groups who do not normally claim them. Outreach work represents various forms of social interventions intended to support or enable such individuals and groups to formulate their demands and make their claims upon resources. This entails various forms of intervention in the prevailing relationships between supply of and demand for adult education resources. In this sense outreach is a recognition of social intervention in the relations between potential providers and users of adult education services. Such mediation is usually based on the shortcomings of the market mechanism and market forces in determining the distribution of resources for social welfare in an equitable way.

To the degree that the outcomes of market forces in determining access to educational resources are socially divisive, outreach strategies are usually formulated as interventions in the demand cycle rather than corrections of supply. Through such interventions it is assumed that individuals and groups can be helped to strengthen their claims and voice them more strongly in the educational market place. The key to inequality in the market is frequently seen in terms of differences in educational consciousness or educational awareness. It is at the level of educational objectives and legitimations employed, that we find significant variations in the approaches adopted in different forms of outreach work.

In educational terms it can be argued that outreach is regarded as ways of enabling groups to become aware of and express their needs for education - that outreach work involves consciousness raising about educational opportunities among individuals and groups. The interventionist perspectives adopted by access, advocacy, community outreach and community action vary in terms of their approach to the growing awareness of education in the process of defining the needs of individuals and groups. In the case of access and advocacy the interventionist perspective is clearly based on institutional adult education and seeks to stimulate the awareness of what such adult education can offer. The access policy developed by Bethnal Green A.E.I. emphasises the process of participation in adult education itself as a way of broadening educational awareness and takes the form of internal outreach. The advocacy work of T.H.E.A. stresses the mediating of supply and demand through supporting new forms of demand and working for modifications in the supply of adult education by institutions. Advocacy suggests an "educational broker" function which assumes the existence of formal adult education and the relative weakness of the potential consumers. Both access and advocacy are interventions coloured by assumptions that adult learning takes place in adult education institutions and that awareness of opportunities within this framework can be increased.

Community outreach and community action are less committed to assumptions about the institutional organisation of adult learning. Their approach to linking up with the educational moments in the lives of ordinary people is a more nonformal perspective. The emphasis here is upon the community itself rather than educational institutions as the basis for mediating between supply and demand. This community based

perspective emphasises interventions to support semi- and organised groups rather than unorganised individuals. The community approach lays stress on developing new community organisations and local social structures which can operate independently and become self-sufficient. This is most clearly expressed in the case of the Islington Bus Co., which regards its interventions in terms of providing materials and facilities to support adult learning activities which are ongoing in the community. Hoxton Educational Home Visitors starts with unorganised mothers of young children but regards the formation of discussion groups as a legitimate long-term objective. It does not regard the potential learning needs of mothers of young children as necessarily those provided for by institutionalised adult education. However, it does not necessarily assume the creation of new social organisations and local structures as a result of its work. In this sense the distinction between institutionalised adult education and community organisation may be too simple. Seed (1973) for example, has suggested that an individual welfare perspective could be added to the perspectives of institutionalised adult education provision and direct social action as dominant perspectives for the interventions adopted in promoting adult learning. Within an individual welfare perspective one could work towards linking individuals to institutionalised adult education which adopt an individual growth perspective on the one hand, or work towards linking individual welfare to forms of direct social action in the community organisation tradition on the other hand.

5.3. Definitions of the target-groups

The social assumptions underlying much outreach work concern imbalances in the supply and demand cycles, and emphasize support for the fomulation of demands among non-users. The educational assumptions relate in the main to different perspectives on the nature of educational consciousness c.q. awareness. Assumptions concering the latter are closely related in practice to prevailing ideas of educational need. All social interventions such as outreach work, presuppose in one way or another an educational need which should be met.

Assumptions about the nature of educational need are furthermore usually associated with ideas about problems which education can help to solve. Such formulations of problemsituations are usually based on a more or

less explicit analysis of the social situation of the target group. This relation between problems in the social situation and the assessment of educational need featured prominently among the workers we talked to. Significant in this context were two main issues. On the one hand, there were variations in the degree to which assessments of educational need were based on an explicit analysis of the social situation of the target groups or not. In other words, was an educational or social problem identified by the workers in describing the social situation of their target groups. On the other hand, there were variations in the degree to which either educational or social problems were associated with individuals or groups among the target population. This distinction coincided generally with references to the nature of the problem of individuals, or to those of semi- and organised groups.

There was a fairly clear distinction among the projects visited in terms of the emphasis placed on social or education problems in the definition of the problem situation. Furthermore, statements relating to such problems were usually associated with a distinction between problems pertaining to individuals and problems shared by social groups. The various interventions developed in outreach work could in these terms be described as individualist or collectivist in orientation (Keddie, 1980). In the case of access and advocacy work there is a more or less explicit assumption that the social problem situation can be defined in terms of the educational problems of individuals or categories of individuals e.g. the unemployed, the illiterate (Thompson, 1980).

Such a definition of the social problem situation is usually associated with an assessment of the educational needs of individuals which require educational provision to meet those needs and/or solve the educational problem. These educational needs derived from the educational problem are seen as characteristic of individuals and it is consequently the individual who needs to be supported in defining his/her educational problem and becoming aware of educational needs. Access and advocacy work tend to view non-participation in adult edcuation in terms of the barriers faced by individuals and the limited experience of individuals with adult education. Support services for individuals ususally entail improved provision of information, counselling and extending experience through familiarization. The non-use of educational provision is seen as a problem of the individual non-user, and outreach regarded as providing additional support for these individuals.

In the case of community organisation we see a more clearly developed formulation of the collectivist approach to formulations of the social problem situation of the target groups. The situation of the target group is here regarded as one characterised by social problems rather than educational problems. Such problems are shared by social groups and needs are seen as pertaining to groups rather than to individuals. This approach places a great deal of emphasis upon relatively homogeneous collectivists which are more or less geographically localised in terms of neighbourhoods. Educational problems as such are a constituent element of a broader definition of the social problem situation which comprises a complex of specific problems many of which are by no means educational. Such educational problems are also regarded as pertaining to groups rather than individuals, as are the collective educational needs arising from them. Resulting from such an analysis of the social problem situation, the purpose of outreach interventions is providing support for semi- and organised groups in the community.

Such differences in definitions of the social problem situation and assessments of the nature of needs, whether social or educational, raise important questions with regard to outreach interventions directed at the disadvantaged groups who make little use of educational resources. Should this be an individualist or a collectivist approach? Outreach based on assessments of the educational problems and needs of individual adults could be questioned in terms of its effectiveness in mobilising adults in multiple problem situations. Attracting the disadvantaged may require a more indirect approach to educational provision with greater emphasis on the collective educational concerns arising from broader social problems. There is an emphasis in the collectivist approach on group-work with semi- and organised community groups which may lead to a lack of attention for the problems and needs of isolated individuals who share similar problems but are by no means organised. The example of community outreach represents here an interesting approach in outreaching towards individuals in multiple social problem situations which may give rise to forms of collective organisation. This suggests that the collectivist approach to outreach assumes a certain degree of social organisation among the target groups as a prerequisite of its interventions. Such assumptions about the social organisation of semi-

and organised groups are often associated with assumptions about a developed social consciousness in a similar way to the individualist approach in regard to self-referral which assumes a certain degree of educational awareness of the individual. What are the specific contributions of individualist and collectivist approaches? The indirect approach to the awareness of educational need characteristic of the collectivist approach may in the short term produce only limited results in terms of participation in institutionalized adult education. This approach is unlikely to carry much favour with those institutions who live in the "enrolment economy" in which subsidies are based on courses and the number of participants.

Such institutions are more likely to be interested in the short term translation of educational problems in terms of educational needs and forms of educational provision with which they possess a certain affinity. Problems which are not directly identified as giving rise to educational need are all too likely to be transferred by educational agencies to other agencies. Conversely such institutions may too easily assume that problem situations give rise to educational needs and require educational provision, without questioning the contribution of education to the solution of social problems. The collectivist approach to outreach suggests problems with regard to the identification of the educational dimensions of broader social problems through which educational provision can meet collective educational needs.

5.4. Working methods in outreach work

In the preceding section it was suggested that approaches to outreach work differ in their definitions of the social problem situation of the target groups in terms of the social and educational needs of individuals and groups. Institutional settings, and accepted working methods within these settings may be significant in determining the adoption of an individualist or collectivist approach to defining problem situations and assessments of need.

Educational and community work agencies, as the carriers of the individualist or collectivist orientations, select those problems and needs which they regard as being appropriate to their area of institutionalized activity.

This can give rise to difficulties when it is not immediately clear that a specific problem situation is best served by educational provision on

some other social agency. This raises the question of how institutions can best deal with the complex process of analysing whether

a) a social or educational problem exists;

b) what the nature of educational need may be;

c) how it can be determined which resources are necessary.

In the projects we visited, the degree of interagency co-operation at the neighbourhood level was a significant feature of outreach work. Adult education institutions co-operated to a significant degree with other social and community work agencies whether statutory or voluntary. Such inter-agency co-operation is not purely an organizational problem, but is very relevant to the process of determining the nature of problem situations and educational needs and which agencies are best suited to cater for them. In this sense inter-agency co-operation may be regarded as an important element of outreach strategies. Of specific interest to the interventions of differing agencies are the nature of the co-operation, the purpose of co-operation, and the outcomes of such co-operation for the use of educational resources.

The nature of inter-agency co-operation is best characterized by the broad range of contacts at the neighbourhood level between agencies engaged in adult education, social and community work, statutory and voluntary organisations, local political organisations, trade unions, pressure groups, and social action groups. Such contacts give rise to a range of complex social networks linking persons, informal groups and formal institutions.

These social networks in which the agencies co-operate differ according to the type of agencies involved, their views on relevant co-operation in regard to their own types of service and the needs which they are able to deal with. The networks of relationships arising from inter-agency co-operation stress are regarded as concrete working relationships developed by fieldworkers from the different agencies. Formal co-operation between various providing institutions and agencies at the organisational level, may develop, but the emphasis is decidedly placed on partnerships between workers. The networks of inter-agency relationships are not regarded as an organisational precondition for co-operation through the combined efforts of fieldworkers. It is usual for each agency involved to allocate the task of inter-agency co-operation to one or

two of its fieldworkers. These detached workers are the outreach workers or "network agents" - network building being seen as a basic task of the outreachers (Mee, 1980).

The main purpose of inter-agency co-operation in the course of outreach work is to open up channels between the organisations at the neighbourhood level with a view to identifying the problems and needs to which resources might be allocated. An important role for outreach workers is to research and identifying needs in the local area. Meeting needs in the most appropriate way requires more information about problems and needs of individuals and groups in the community than any single agency can provide. Inter-agency co-operation through appointing detached workers to fulfill the outreach function is intended to facilitate learning about the community and its needs. The questions concerned with defining a problem situation as social or educational, whether a need is individual or collective, whether it requires adult education or social work provision becomes a jointly shared concern of the co-operating agencies. Building networks of co-operation between a range of agencies can help mitigate the tendency of agencies acting alone to produce inappropriate responses to needs, and help to provide appropriate responses to those needs not at present being satisfied. Above all such co-operation can produce more informed views on the range of social and educational problems, and the nature of individual and group needs. The intention of outreach work to serve new publics is facilitated by the information made possible by co-operation with other agencies. It can help the separate agencies to gain a more realistic assessment of their own contribution to solving social and educational problems, and the requirement to identify their respective roles in the spectrum of adult needs.

The outcomes of inter-agency co-operation is most usually regarded by the agencies themselves as leading to more than the creation of passive channels of communication between various agencies in relation to individuals and groups in situations of need. It is expected that outreach work and the building of networks will widen the provision to new categories of users, reach the non-users, and give rise to a more

effective distribution of educational and community resources. If an identified problem calls for an educational response, then it is a case of deciding who can best provide for that need in the light of the experience and skills possessed by the different agencies. If the required response to an identified problem is not educational then the provision for that need must come from one or other of the social or community work agencies in the network. Establishing networks of inter-agency co-operation is regarded as a more effective way of utilizing the resources available in the various agencies involved. The pooling of experience, skills, knowledge and material resources can be achieved which permits a more adequate response to the whole range of needs in the community. In this way the patterns of co-operation established by the agencies engaged in co-operative outreach can help redress the imbalances between the institutional map of formal organisations and the problems and needs perceived by these front-line workers. Furthermore, it is frequently argued that co-operation between agencies can help overcome the often isolated position of individual outreach workers who are detached from the mainstream work of their respective institutions.

6. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF OUTREACH WORK AS A SOCIAL INTERVENTION STRATEGY

This report is a descriptive and anecdotal overview of a study visit to a number of adult education and community work projects in the London area. The projects visited were regarded as examples of differing approaches to outreaching work towards individuals and groups at the neighbourhood level.

Whether it is referred to as access, advocacy, community outreach or community organisation, outreach work in its various forms can be regarded as a social intervention strategy characterised by a number of component elements.

During our visit to the projects and our discussions with field workers we made use of four global points of reference:

- what were the social and political considerations giving rise to outreach work?
- what were the social/educational perspectives adopted in developing specific forms of outreach?
- which definitions of the target groups were employed?
- which working methods were developed by outreach workers?

Reflection upon the issues raised during our visit and a preliminary analysis of the secondary resources collected have suggested a modification and extension of the original points of reference. These points of reference emphasise the perceptions of the outreach worker as change-agent e.g. how they legitimate their interventions, their perspectives on interventions, their ideas about the target groups, their working methods.

For present purposes we would suggest that the following points of reference may be a useful basis for analysing outreach work as purposeful social intervention strategies:

- the social-political legitimations for social interventions e.g. redistribution of educational resources;
- the social identity of the intervention agency e.g. state or voluntary agencies;
- the nature of the resources available to the agency e.g. professional or voluntary workers;
- the theoretical assumptions or knowledgebase adopted by the workers;
- the social welfare perspective adopted by the social agency e.g. individual growth, group welfare, collective action;
- the definitions of the social (problem) situation of the target groups e.g. educational or social problems;
- the specific definitions of assessed need of the target group e.g. educational and/or social need;
- the social location of problem situations and assessed need e.g. individuals and/or collectivities;
- the relations developed with the target group e.g. their assigned role in problem/need defining;
- the degree of co-operation with organisations among the target group e.g. neighbourhood organisations, action groups, trade unions;
- the nature and degree of inter-agency co-operation e.g. adult education institutions with community work agencies;
- the practice-theories adopted by the workers e.g. adult education, community work, social work;
- the working methods adopted e.g. case-work, groupwork, community work, social action.

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